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POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS
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MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW
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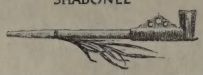

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ALGONKIN *P* AND *S* IN CHEYENNE.

IN his recently published "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," Michelson speaks of "the apparent change of *-p(A)m-* to *-m-* and *-p(A)t-* to *-xt-*."[2] I believe it is rather clear from R. Petter's data alone[3] that original Algonkin intervocalic *p* (or *b*) regularly disappears in Cheyenne. Examples of this are:

nāe "to die": Cree *nipi-w* "he dies"

tāe-va "nightly" (*-va* is postpositive element): Cree *tibisk-* "night" (note that in both these cases Cree *-ipi-*, *-ibi-* corresponds to Cheyenne *-āe-*)

vō-m- "to see" (< **wā-* < **wāpa-;* Algonkin *w* becomes Cheyenne *v*, preceding or following *ā* becoming labialized to *ō*): Fox *wāpA-m-*

-ōva "referring to water" (< **-āwa* < **-āpawa*): Cree *-ābawa* "by means of water"

-neove- "standing" (< **-nipawi*): Cree *nibāwi-w* "he stands;" Ojibwa *nibaw* "to stand"

ohe "river", if secondarily transposed from **hoe* (< **hope* < **sIpi;* for *sI* > *ho* see *ohona* below): Cree *sipi* "river"

Initial *p*, however, seems to have remained in Cheyenne, at least in some

[2] Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912, p. 233.

[3] See R. Petter, "Sketch of the Cheyenne Grammar," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, I, pp. 443–478.

cases. Cf., for instance, Cheyenne *na-peena* "I grind it" with Cree *pini-pu-tta-w* "he grinds it."

Intervocalic Algonkin *s* has regularly developed to Cheyenne *h* (doubtful if also initially; see **hoe* > *ohe* above). Examples are:

ohona "stone" (< **asɪni*. Algonkin inorganic *ɪ* is to be kept apart from organic *i*; *i* appears everywhere normally as *i*, while *ɪ* either disappears or appears in Cree, Ojibwa, and Delaware as *i*, in Fox as *e*, in Cheyenne as *o*, at least in part, (probably also as *a*), in Natick as *ʌ*, generally written *u* in Eliot's Bible. Algonkin **asɪ-* > Cheyenne **aho-*, assimilated to *oho-*; for *-na* < **-ni*, cf. Cheyenne *mata* "wood": Cree *misti-kw-:* Fox *ʌsenᵉ*; Cree *assni;* Ojibwa *assin;* Natick *hassun* (i. e. *hasʌn*); Delaware *ᵘθin;* Abenaki *sɪnᵘ* "stone," *nd-asni-mᵘ* "my stone"

maha "large" (assimilated from **mɪsa*, perhaps **masi*, < **mɪsi;* cf. *mata* "wood" < **mɪᵘta*, perhaps **maᵘti*, < **mɪsti*): Cree *misi-* "much, very;" Natick *missi, mussi* (i. e. *mɪsi, mʌsi*) "great"

nāhá "thrice," *nahe* "three of": Fox *néswᵉ* "three;" Cree *nisto*. It is likely that *-h-* of Cheyenne *nāhá* goes back to *-s-* < *-st-* (cf. Cree *nisto* and see *-aha* below)

nohon "five" (< **nɪsɪn* or assimilated from **nɪsan* or **nasɪn*?): Blackfoot *nisi-tó*. Also Arapaho *yāθanᵉ* (I quote from Kroeber's MS notes) may point to intervocalic *-s-* for Western Algonkin "five" as contrasted with Eastern Algonkin *n* and *l* (*e. g.* Fox *nyānʌnwᵉ*, Ojibwa *nānan*, Abenaki *nalánᵘ*)

-aha "by means of the wind" (< **-asi* < **-asti;* for *st* > *s*, see *nāhá* above): Cree *-asti-* "by the wind"

Both of these phonetic laws could be abundantly paralleled elsewhere, for example in Indo-germanic. Thus, original *p* is lost in Celtic (cf. Old Irish *ibim* "I drink" with Sanskrit *pibāmi* "I drink"). Original *s* becomes *h* in both Greek and Avestan (cf. Greek *heptá* and Avestan *hafta-* with Latin *septem*). These remarks are, of course, intended merely to indicate that Cheyenne loss of intervocalic *p* and change of original *s* to *h* are not isolated phonetic processes.

E. SAPIR

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